

STATEMENT OF ROBERT M. GATES  
NOMINEE TO BE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE  
SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE  
17 FEBRUARY 1987

MR. CHAIRMAN; MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE:

THANK YOU FOR YOUR WORDS OF WELCOME AND THANK YOU SENATOR WARNER FOR INTRODUCING ME. I AM DEEPLY HONORED TO HAVE BEEN NOMINATED BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE POSITION OF DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE.

AT THE SAME TIME, I AM PROFOUNDLY SADDENED BY THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH BRING ME HERE -- THE ILLNESS OF DIRECTOR CASEY. I CANNOT LET THIS OCCASION PASS WITHOUT NOTING THE GREAT DEBT OF GRATITUDE OWED BY THIS COUNTRY AND ITS INTELLIGENCE SERVICES TO WILLIAM J. CASEY FOR HIS SUCCESSFUL RESTORATION OF AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE. WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS, HE OBTAINED DESPERATELY NEEDED RESOURCES TO RESTORE AND EXPAND OUR COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS CAPABILITIES; HE FOSTERED AN UNPRECEDENTED DEGREE OF HARMONY AND COOPERATION AMONG AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATIONS; HE MADE OUR ASSESSMENTS MORE REALISTIC AND HONEST IN PRESENTING DIFFERING VIEWS; HE RESTORED OUR MORALE, OUR SENSE OF PURPOSE AND MISSION; HE HELPED MAKE US MORE RELEVANT AND USEFUL TO POLICYMAKERS AND THE CONGRESS; HE BROUGHT OUR SERVICES NEW

RESPECT AND COOPERATION OVERSEAS; AND HE FASHIONED AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE ONCE AGAIN INTO AN INSTRUMENT FOR USE AGAINST OUR ADVERSARIES -- WHETHER THEY BE DRUG DEALERS, THOSE WHO WOULD STEAL OUR TECHNOLOGY, OR COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS AT WAR WITH THEIR OWN PEOPLE. FROM THE OSS AND RUNNING AGENTS IN NAZI-OCCUPIED FRANCE TO THE WORLD OF COLLECTION SATELLITES IN SPACE AND LASER WEAPONS, BILL CASEY HAS SERVED HIS COUNTRY LONG AND WITH DISTINCTION. HE IS ONE OF THE LAST OF THAT GENERATION OF GREAT AMERICANS WHO EMERGED FROM WORLD WAR II DETERMINED THAT THE UNITED STATES PLAY A CRITICAL ROLE IN PRESERVING AND EXTENDING THE FREEDOM THEY HAD DEFENDED AT SUCH GREAT COST -- AND HE HAS WORKED FOR OVER 40 YEARS TO FULFILL THAT OBJECTIVE.

MR. CHAIRMAN, IN THIS OPENING STATEMENT, I WOULD LIKE TO ADDRESS BRIEFLY THREE SUBJECTS THAT I BELIEVE ARE OF INTEREST TO THE COMMITTEE: MY INDEPENDENCE AND ACCESS, MY AGENDA FOR THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY, AND MY VIEW OF CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT. I AM THE FIRST CAREER OFFICER TO BE NOMINATED FOR THE POSITION OF DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE IN NEARLY 15 YEARS AND ONLY THE THIRD SINCE THE POSITION WAS ESTABLISHED FORTY YEARS AGO.

THE PRESIDENT'S INSTRUCTIONS WHEN HE OFFERED THE POSITION TO ME WERE CLEAR AND DIRECT. HE TOLD ME THAT HE WANTS HIS INTELLIGENCE UNVARNISHED -- THE GOOD AND THE BAD: IT MUST BE PROFESSIONAL AND OBJECTIVE. HE ALSO SAID THAT HE EXPECTED ME TO COME TO HIM DIRECTLY WITH INTELLIGENCE OR CONCERNS WHENEVER

I THINK IT APPROPRIATE. I GAVE HIM MY ASSURANCES ON BOTH COUNTS.

I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT I WILL HESITATE NEITHER TO PRESENT UNWELCOME NEWS NOR SAY WHAT I THINK TO POLICYMAKERS OR TO CONGRESS. NOR WILL I HESITATE TO MAKE WHATEVER PERSONNEL OR ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGES ARE NEEDED TO ENSURE BOTH HIGH QUALITY INTELLIGENCE AND ADHERENCE TO THE RULES.

WITH ALL THAT MR. CASEY ACCOMPLISHED OVER THE PAST SIX YEARS, HE WOULD BE THE FIRST TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THERE REMAINS A SIGNIFICANT UNFINISHED AGENDA FOR U.S. INTELLIGENCE. WE CANNOT AFFORD TO STAND STILL OR BE CONTENT WITH CARETAKING. THE NATIONAL FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE STRATEGY POINTS THE WAY TO THE FUTURE BUT LET ME QUICKLY REVIEW WHAT I CONSIDER OUR AGENDA FOR THE NEXT TWO YEARS AND BEYOND.

THE DEMANDS UPON US FOR COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS ON A DRAMATICALLY EXPANDING RANGE OF SUBJECTS HAS THE POTENTIAL -- AND SOME WOULD SAY ALREADY HAS BEGUN -- TO WEAKEN OUR EFFECTIVENESS IN HIGH-PRIORITY AREAS. WE MUST BEGIN WORKING WITH POLICYMAKERS TO IDENTIFY THOSE PROBLEMS WHERE INTELLIGENCE CAN MAKE A UNIQUE CONTRIBUTION AND FOCUS ON THEM. WITH FINITE RESOURCES WE CANNOT TRY OR PRETEND TO TRY TO COLLECT AND ANALYZE INFORMATION ON EVERY CONCEIVABLE SUBJECT OF INTEREST TO EVERY AGENCY OR OFFICIAL OF THE UNITED STATES

GOVERNMENT; WE MUST PRIORITIZE BETTER. THIS IS PARTICULARLY TRUE AS OUR WORK ON MORE TRADITIONAL HIGH PRIORITY AREAS SUCH AS SOVIET WEAPONS PROGRAMS IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT AND MORE RESOURCE INTENSIVE.

-- ANOTHER IMPORTANT PROBLEM FOR US TO DEAL WITH IS THE AVALANCHE OF INFORMATION, BOTH THAT ACQUIRED THROUGH TRADITIONAL INTELLIGENCE MEANS AND THAT WHICH IS OPENLY AVAILABLE. IN SOME PARTS OF OUR COMMUNITY WE MEASURE COMPUTERS BY THE ACRE AND STILL OUR ABILITY TO EXPLOIT INFORMATION IS INCREASINGLY HARD-PRESSED. THE ANSWER IS NOT LESS INFORMATION, BUT BETTER PROCESSING AND EXPLOITATION. I AM CONVINCED THAT THERE IS ROOM FOR OPEN COOPERATION IN THIS AREA BETWEEN AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE AND AMERICAN BUSINESS AND UNIVERSITIES THAT ALSO ARE TRYING TO COPE WITH THIS PROBLEM. BUT WE MUST ALLOCATE THE RESOURCES NECESSARY TO ENSURE EFFECTIVE EXPLOITATION OF WHAT WE COLLECT.

-- WE MUST BUILD UPON THE CLOSER COOPERATION FOSTERED BY MR. CASEY AMONG THE DIFFERENT ELEMENTS OF THE COMMUNITY. AS WE CONFRONT A GROWING NUMBER OF PROBLEMS WE SHOULD EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITY OF SOME DIVISIONS OF LABOR WHILE PRESERVING NECESSARY COMPETITIVE ANALYSIS ON CRITICAL SUBJECTS. FOR EXAMPLE, THE DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY HAS BEEN GIVEN THE RESPONSIBILITY

ON BEHALF OF THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY FOR MAINTAINING DATA BASES ON MILITARY FORCES IN THE THIRD WORLD. I BELIEVE THERE ARE OTHER SUCH AREAS WHERE WE CAN COMBINE BOTH COMPETITION AND COOPERATION.

-- WE MUST FOSTER MORE ANALYTICAL COMPETITION, BOTH WITHIN THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY AND OUTSIDE. OUR INFORMATION IS OFTEN FRAGMENTARY OR AMBIGUOUS. SIGNIFICANT INTELLIGENCE FAILURES IN THE PAST HAVE COME WHEN WE OFFERED WITH FALSE CERTAINTY ASSESSMENTS THAT PRESENTED EITHER AN ARTIFICIAL CONSENSUS OR FORECAST ONLY A SINGLE OUTCOME TO COMPLEX DEVELOPMENTS. WHILE I BELIEVE WE OWE POLICYMAKERS A CLEAR ESTIMATE OF WHAT WE THINK WILL HAPPEN IN A GIVEN SITUATION, WE NEED TO BE HONEST ENOUGH TO ADMIT THAT THERE ARE USUALLY OTHER POSSIBILITIES AND TO DESCRIBE THEM. THE CANDID PRESENTATION OF DIFFERING VIEWS AMONG INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES IS IMPERATIVE.

-- WE NEED TO CONTINUE EFFORTS TO EXPAND AND IMPROVE OUR HUMAN INTELLIGENCE CAPABILITIES. NOT ONLY ARE THERE CRITICAL AREAS WHERE ONLY HUMAN AGENTS CAN GET NEEDED INFORMATION -- FOR EXAMPLE, EARLY RESEARCH ON ADVANCED WEAPONS -- BUT ALMOST ALWAYS THE ONLY INFORMATION WE GET ON INTENTIONS COMES FROM HUMAN SOURCES. WE NEED MORE CASE OFFICERS, WE NEED THEM OVERSEAS, AND WE NEED THEM ASSIGNED TO AREAS WHERE THE REQUIREMENTS ARE MOST

PRESSING. AT THE SAME TIME, WE MAY NEED TO TIGHTEN FURTHER OUR COMMAND AND CONTROL. FINALLY, WE NEED TO INTENSIFY CURRENT EFFORTS TO DIVERSIFY OUR OFFICER CADRE, BRINGING IN MEN AND WOMEN WHO CAN MOVE WITH EASE AND UNOBTRUSIVELY IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD.

- THE EXPERIENCE OF THE LAST FEW YEARS DEMONSTRATES THE NEED TO REDOUBLE OUR COUNTERINTELLIGENCE EFFORT, BOTH OVERSEAS AND IN OUR OWN GOVERNMENT. WE MUST DEVOTE MORE RESOURCES TO REINVESTIGATIONS, TO SECURITY EDUCATION, TO VIGILANCE, AND TO CLOSER COLLABORATION AMONG THE AGENCIES WITH COUNTERINTELLIGENCE RESPONSIBILITIES. CIA ALREADY HAS REDIRECTED WITHIN THE LAST FEW MONTHS TENS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS TO CATCH UP ON INTERNAL REINVESTIGATIONS. MORE NEEDS TO BE DONE GOVERNMENTWIDE IN THIS AND OTHER AREAS.
- WE NEED TO CONTINUE IMPROVING OUR MANAGEMENT OF COVERT ACTIONS, MAKING THEM MORE EFFICIENT AND EFFECTIVE, SHORTENING THE GAP BETWEEN DECISIONS AND IMPLEMENTATION, AND ENSURING THAT WE SEEK THE RESOURCES WE NEED TO BE SUCCESSFUL. SIMULTANEOUSLY, WE MUST ENSURE THAT NO COVERT ACTION IS UNDERTAKEN WITHOUT PROPER COORDINATION AND PROPER WRITTEN AUTHORIZATION AND ALSO THAT THEY ARE CONDUCTED IN FULL ACCORDANCE WITH THE LAW AND OUR OWN REGULATIONS. MOREOVER, WE OWE IT TO THE POLICY COMMUNITY TO ENSURE THAT THEIR

DECISION TO USE COVERT ACTION NOT BE UNDERCUT BY SHORTCOMINGS IN OUR IMPLEMENTATION -- EITHER IN THE FIELD OR WITH CONGRESS. FINALLY, TO THE DEGREE WE ARE INVOLVED IN COVERT ACTION OR OTHER OPERATIONS IN SUPPORT OF POLICY, WE MUST TAKE SPECIAL CARE TO PROTECT AND ENSURE THE OBJECTIVITY AND QUALITY OF OUR ANALYSIS.

-- WE MUST DO SOMETHING ABOUT UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURES. WE MUST RESTORE DISCIPLINE INSIDE THE GOVERNMENT, ESPECIALLY WITH RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE SOURCES, TECHNIQUES AND ASSETS. THE FIRST STEPS ARE MORE RIGOROUS INVESTIGATIONS AND THE APPLICATION OF FIRM SANCTIONS AS WELL AS BETTER PROTECTION OF GENUINELY SENSITIVE DOCUMENTS. RECENT STEPS BY THIS COMMITTEE IN THESE RESPECTS ARE WELCOME AND ENCOURAGING. THE COST TO OUR CAPABILITIES FROM LEAKS AS WELL AS SPIES HAS BEEN CATASTROPHIC. BETTER COUNTERINTELLIGENCE WILL HAVE LITTLE EFFECT IF THE SOVIETS CAN READ ALL ABOUT OUR COLLECTION CAPABILITIES IN THE DAILY PRESS. WE MUST ALSO HOPE THAT THE AMERICAN MEDIA UNDERSTANDS, AND WE MUST HELP THEM TO APPRECIATE, THE RISKS TO THE NATION'S SECURITY AND THE COST TO THE TAXPAYER OF PUBLISHING INFORMATION ON INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND METHODS LEAKED BY THOSE WHO BETRAY THE COUNTRY'S TRUST IN THEM.

-- WE MUST CONTINUE TO SEEK AND OBTAIN THE RESOURCES NEEDED TO MEET CONSTANTLY CHANGING INTELLIGENCE REQUIREMENTS. IN A FAST-CHANGING AND DANGEROUS WORLD, QUALITY INTELLIGENCE CANNOT BE FUNDED ON-AGAIN OFF-AGAIN; CONTINUED INVESTMENT IN NEW CAPABILITIES IS ESSENTIAL. AT A TIME WHEN THERE ARE SEVERE PRESSURES ON THE DEFENSE BUDGET, LOGICALLY RESOURCES FOR INTELLIGENCE SHOULD RISE, NOT BE REDUCED. THIS IS A PROBLEM BOTH THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH AND THE CONGRESS MUST ADDRESS. QUALITY INTELLIGENCE REQUIRES SUSTAINED SUPPORT.

-- IN THE YEARS AHEAD, WE WILL BE CHALLENGED TO RECRUIT, DEVELOP AND RETAIN AN EXTRAORDINARILY DIVERSE, TALENTED AND DEDICATED GROUP OF PEOPLE. WE MUST RECOGNIZE THE SPECIAL BURDENS AND SACRIFICES OF PEOPLE IN THIS UNIQUE WORKING ENVIRONMENT -- ESPECIALLY THOSE OVERSEAS -- AND AGGRESSIVELY EXPLORE WAYS TO RECRUIT, RETAIN, AND REWARD PEOPLE OF HIGH QUALITY.

FINALLY, BUT FIRST IN IMPORTANCE, WE MUST ACT PROMPTLY TO STRENGTHEN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY AND OUR CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES. OVER THE PAST TWO OR THREE YEARS, IT HAS SEEMED LIKE ALL OF US INVOLVED HAVE WORKED TO DEVELOP GREATER MUTUAL CONFIDENCE AND TRUST, ONLY TO HAVE SOME NEW EVENT OR ACTION ERASE THAT PROGRESS AND FORCE US TO START



OVER. WE MUST FIND A WAY TO AVOID VALLEYS OF MISTRUST IN THIS RELATIONSHIP. I CONSIDER IT ONE OF MY HIGHEST PRIORITIES TO HELP RE-ESTABLISH MUTUAL TRUST AND CONFIDENCE. I BELIEVE WE ARE OFF TO A GOOD START. THE KEY, IN MY VIEW, IS BETTER COMMUNICATION ON BOTH SIDES. CLOSE AND CONTINUING CONTACT BETWEEN US, CONFIDENCE ON YOUR PART THAT WE WILL BE FORTHCOMING -- THAT YOU DON'T HAVE TO ASK EXACTLY THE RIGHT QUESTION TO LEARN WHAT WE ARE DOING, AND CONFIDENCE ON OUR PART THAT THE NATION'S SECRETS WILL BE PROTECTED, REPRESENT THE MOST PROMISING PATH TO A MORE STABLE AND SATISFACTORY RELATIONSHIP.

MR CHAIRMAN, MOST OF OUR CITIZENS DO NOT REALIZE THE UNIQUENESS OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY AND THE CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT COMMITTEES OR OF THE GROUND WE ARE BREAKING TOGETHER FOR THE EFFECTIVE OPERATION OF A SECRET INTELLIGENCE SERVICE IN THE WORLD'S MOST OPEN DEMOCRACY. INDEED, A PUBLIC HEARING SUCH AS THIS WOULD BE INCONCEIVABLE IN ANY OTHER NATION IN THE WORLD.

AS I SAID LAST APRIL, THE CONCEPT AND PRINCIPLES OF CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT OF INTELLIGENCE ARE FULLY ACCEPTED WITHIN THE AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY. NEARLY TWO-THIRDS OF THOSE NOW SERVING IN CIA BEGAN THEIR CAREERS AFTER 1976, WHEN OVERSIGHT AS WE KNOW IT BEGAN. THEY KNOW NO OTHER WAY OF DOING BUSINESS THAN WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT. AT THE SAME TIME, WE REALIZE THAT, ALMOST BY DEFINITION, OVERSIGHT INVOLVES SKEPTICISM, CRITICISM, AND

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT. AND, OBVIOUSLY, NOBODY LIKES TO BE ON THE RECEIVING END OF CRITICISM. BUT, WHATEVER FRICTIONS RESULT ARE USUALLY TRANSITORY AND DO NOT AFFECT THE BASIC PROCESS.

MORE IMPORTANT, THE COMMUNITY'S ACCEPTANCE OF OVERSIGHT IS BASED IN SUBSTANTIAL MEASURE ON RECOGNITION OF THE BENEFITS TO US OF THE PROCESS. WE REMEMBER, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT THE REBUILDING OF AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE BEGAN IN THE LATE 1970'S IN THE CONGRESS. SUBSEQUENTLY, BOTH OVERSIGHT COMMITTEES HAVE STRONGLY SUPPORTED OUR RESOURCE NEEDS. YOU HAVE ON OCCASION DEFENDED US IN PUBLIC AGAINST UNJUSTIFIED ACCUSATIONS. YOU HAVE BEEN INSTRUMENTAL IN INITIATING AND SPONSORING LEGISLATION IMPORTANT TO OUR PEOPLE AND OUR WORK, INCLUDING THE IDENTITIES PROTECTION ACT AND THE CIA INFORMATION ACT. OVERSIGHT HAS CREATED AN ENVIRONMENT THAT FOSTERS ADHERENCE TO THE RULES AT ALL LEVELS AND DISCOURAGES CORNER CUTTING OR ABUSES. THE COMMITTEES HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF OUR WORK AND TO EFFICIENCY. AND, FINALLY, THE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES AND EXECUTIVE OVERSIGHT ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS THE PRESIDENT'S INTELLIGENCE OVERSIGHT BOARD AND THE PRESIDENT'S FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE ADVISORY BOARD SHOULD GIVE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CONFIDENCE THAT THEIR INTELLIGENCE SERVICE IS ACCOUNTABLE, CARRIES OUT ITS ACTIVITIES ACCORDING TO THE LAW AND THAT WE ARE GUIDED BY STANDARDS AND VALUES ACCEPTABLE TO THEM.

IT WOULD BE NAIVE TO BELIEVE, GIVEN SEPARATION OF POWERS ISSUES BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES AND THE CONTRASTING CULTURES AND NEEDS OF A SECRET SERVICE ON THE ONE HAND AND A FREELY ELECTED CONGRESS ON THE OTHER, THAT THERE WOULD NOT BE DIFFICULTIES. YET, WITH THAT, I BELIEVE THAT OVERSIGHT WORKS AND THAT, WITH OVERSIGHT, WE CONTINUE TO HAVE THE FINEST INTELLIGENCE SERVICE IN THE WORLD. INDEED, WHERE OTHERS MAY SEE SOME LIABILITIES IN OVERSIGHT, I SEE IMPORTANT STRENGTHS. FOR EXAMPLE, BECAUSE PEOPLE KNOW, THROUGH YOU, THAT WE ARE ACCOUNTABLE AND SUBJECT TO THE RULE OF LAW, WE HAVE ACCESS TO THE BEST MINDS AND RESOURCES OF AMERICA -- IN BUSINESS, THE UNIVERSITIES, AND SCIENTIFIC CENTERS. SOME 200-250 THOUSAND AMERICANS EXPRESS INTEREST IN JOINING CIA EACH YEAR. MOST AMERICANS SEE OUR EFFORTS AS NECESSARY TO PRESERVE OUR FREEDOM -- AND, BECAUSE OF OVERSIGHT AND THE LAW, NOT A THREAT TO THAT FREEDOM.

MR. CHAIRMAN, I CANNOT CONCLUDE MY STATEMENT WITHOUT PAYING TRIBUTE, IN THIS PUBLIC FORUM, AS I DID LAST YEAR, TO THE BRAVE MEN AND WOMEN OF AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE, MILITARY AND CIVILIAN, WHO LIVE AND WORK IN DANGEROUS AND INHOSPITABLE PLACES OVERSEAS AND UNDER ENORMOUS PRESSURES HERE AT HOME. WITH COURAGE AND DEDICATION, THEY ENDURE PERSONAL SACRIFICE, INCREDIBLY LONG HOURS, A CLOAK OF SECRECY ABOUT WHAT THEY DO THAT EXCLUDES EVEN THEIR FAMILIES, A LACK OF PRIVACY, AND YET ANONYMITY. AS THE PRESIDENT SAID IN 1984, "THE WORK YOU DO EACH DAY IS ESSENTIAL TO THE SURVIVAL AND TO THE SPREAD OF HUMAN FREEDOM. YOU REMAIN

THE EYES AND EARS OF THE FREE WORLD. YOU ARE THE TRIPWIRE." THE NATION CAN BE PROUD OF ITS INTELLIGENCE SERVICES AND, IF CONFIRMED, I WOULD BE PROUD TO SERVE WITH THEM AS DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE.

THIS CONCLUDES MY OPENING STATEMENT. I HAVE SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD ANSWERS TO THE COMMITTEE'S WRITTEN QUESTIONS BUT, IN ADDITION, WITH THE CHAIRMAN'S PERMISSION, I WOULD LIKE TO RESPOND ORALLY TO TWO QUESTIONS.